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ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
AND SIXTIETH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 17 March 1992, at 6.05 p.m.

President:	Mr. ARRIA	(Venezuela)
Members:	Austria	Mr. HOHENFELLNER
	Belgium	Mr. NOTERDAEME
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. LI Daoyu
	Ecuador	Mr. AYALA LASSO
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. BUDAI
	India	Mr. GHAREKHAN
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. SNOUSSI
	Russian Federation	Mr. LOZINSKY
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. WATSON
	Zimbabwe	Mr. MUMBENGEGWI

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The meeting was called to order at 6.05 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN SOMALIA

(a) LETTER DATED 20 JANUARY 1992 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF SOMALIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/23445)

(b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (S/23693 and Corr.1)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Italy, Kenya, Nigeria and Somalia, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Ms. Hassan (Somalia) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Traxler (Italy), Mr. Adala (Kenya) and Mr. Nwachukwu (Nigeria) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 17 March 1992 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations, which reads as follows:

(The President)

"I have the honour to request that the Security Council extend an invitation to His Excellency Mr. Ahmet Engin Ansay, Permanent Observer of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to the United Nations, to address the Council under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure in the course of the Council's consideration of the item entitled 'The situation in Somalia'."

(The President)

That letter will be published as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/23723.

If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 to Ambassador Ahmet Engin Ansay.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 17 March 1992 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations, which reads as follows:

> "I have the honour to request that the Security Council, in accordance with rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure, extend an invitation to His Excellency Mr. Aboul Nasr, Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations, in the course of the Council's consideration of the item entitled, 'The situation in Somalia'."

That letter will be published as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/23724.

If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 to Ambassador Aboul Nasr.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations. Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia, contained in document S/23693 and Corr.1. Members of the Council also have before them document S/23722, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's consulations. I should like to draw attention to the following revisions to the provisional version of the draft resolution contained in document S/23722. I shall read these texts in English.

(The President)

The new preamblular paragraph 7 would read as follows:

(spoke in English)

"Bearing in mind that the factors described in paragraph 76 of the Secretary-General's report (S/23693) must be taken into account,".

(spoke in Spanish)

The last preambular paragraph would read as follows:

(spoke in English)

"Expressing its appreciation to the regional organizations, including the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, for their cooperation with the United Nations in the effort to resolve the Somali problem,".

(spoke in Spanish)

Operative paragraph 2 would read as follows:

(spoke in English)

"Urges the Somali factions to honour their commitment under the cease-fire agreements of 3 March 1992;".

(spoke in Spanish)

There would be a new operative paragraph 6, which would read as follows:

(spoke in English)

"Strongly supports the Secretary-General's decision urgently to dispatch a technical team to Somalia, accompanied by the coordinator, in order to work within the framework and objectives outlined in paragraphs 73 and 74 of his report (S/23693) and to submit expeditiously a report to the Security Council on this matter;".

(spoke in Spanish

There would be a new operative paragraph 7, which would read as follows:

(The President)

(spoke in English)

"Requests that the technical team also develop a high priority plan to establish mechanisms to ensure the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance;".

(spoke in Spanish)

The paragraph that would now be operative paragraph 10 would read as follows:

(spoke in English)

"Calls upon all Somali parties, movements and factions to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General in the implementation of the resolution;".

(spoke in Spanish)

Those are all the revisions to the text.

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to document S/23718, which contains the text of a letter dated 13 March 1992 from the Permanent Representative of Egypt to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

The first speaker inscribed on my list is the Minister for External Affairs of Nigeria, Major-General Ike O. S. Nwachukwu, who wishes to make a statement on behalf of the Current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity. I welcome Major-General Nwachukwu and invite him to take a place at the Council table.

I now call on the Minister for External Affairs of Nigeria.

Mr. NWACHUKWU (Nigeria): It is a distinct privilege for me to convey to you, Mr. President, and to the esteemed members of the Security Council the warmest greetings of the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU),

(Mr. Nwachukwu, Nigeria)

General Ibrahim Babangida and to thank you for granting me the opportunity to address the Council on his behalf on a subject that Africa and the international community at large are at present grappling with. I should also like to take the opportunity to congratulate Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali on his appointment to the office of Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Somalia, a member of the OAU, is currently embroiled in an internecine civil war that has destablilized the political and socio-economic set-up of that country and brought untold hardship to its population. The carnage has been mindless, and it has also brought in its wake loss of property, hunger, poverty and forced migration of Somalis across their national frontiers. Men, women and children have been turned into refugees with consequential implications for the neighbouring States.

(Mr. Nwachukwu, Nigeria)

In the life of every nation there are periods of growth and development just as there are periods of pain and difficulties. What we are witnessing in Somalia is a disintegrative force of change along clannist lines and power play among its political and military élites.

Africa has watched with extreme concern the volumetric increase in frustration incident on the reluctance of the warring factions in Somalia to end this fratricidal war, in the interest of their national unity. There is abundant evidence that the fighting soldiers are themselves getting tired of the war and would rather lay down their arms. This notwithstanding, Africa would be pleased to see a better demonstration of a political disposition on the part of the wider international community to deal seriously with the Somali situation and in a manner which sends a clear message to the warring factions that the continuing carnage is not only senseless but unacceptable.

It is against this backdrop that at the recent meeting of the Council of Ministers in Addis Ababa, from 24 to 28 February this year, the Council called upon the belligerent factions in Mogadiscio to honour fully the pledges they had made here in New York on 14 February this year to cease hostilities immediately and to maintain a cease-fire. The Council urged them to cooperate with the joint mission to Somalia comprising the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the United Nations, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the League of Arab States in its efforts to conclude a cease-fire agreement aimed at the restoration of peace and stability in Somalia in line with Security Council resolution 733 (1992) of 23 January this year.

I am greatly heartened that the Security Council, which has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, is sufficiently seized of this question and has undertaken some efforts in this regard. Africa places a premium on the capacity of the Security Council to be

(Mr. Nwachukwu, Nigeria)

responsive to situations which are likely to constitute a threat to international peace and security.

The situation in Somalia should qualify for direct action by the Security Council in line with the provisions of the United Nations Charter. In short, the Security Council should take a definitive step to establish a United Nations presence in Somalia through the deployment of a military observer mission to monitor the cease-fire. This, in the view of the OAU and in our view as Africans, is the minimum action expected from the Security Council; otherwise Africa will be left with no other impression than that its problems are of limited concern to the international community, and particularly the United Nations. The Security Council not only must conduct preventive diplomacy in line with its new orientation and thrust, but must be seen to do so effectively in the case of Somalia, which is the most recent test case, the most recent disaster, on our continent.

We welcome the cooperation between the United Nations and the regional organizations in addressing issues of concern to the international community. We believe that such cooperation in the case of the OAU and the United Nations should result in the peaceful resolution of the Somali conflict, as, indeed, of other conflicts in Africa. The United Nations, as the conscience of the international community, should perforce encourage a political process that ensures the unity and the viability of the Somali State as it pursues national reconciliation and reconstruction.

Africa notes with considerable interest the efforts of the United Nations in crisis management, in peacemaking and peace-keeping. We suggest that Africa deserves the same qualitative and quantitative attention which has been paid to other regions - and perhaps much more because of its weak economic

(Mr. Nwachukwu, Nigeria)

base. There is need to have a strong and visible United Nations presence in the conflict areas in Africa.

We commend the efforts of the Secretary-General in collaboration with the regional organizations in the quest for a durable peace in Somalia. We should also like to place on record our appreciation to the special envoy of the Secretary-General to Somalia for his efforts during his recent visit. Our appreciation goes also to the staff of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the International Committee of the Red Cross inside Somalia for their special courage and dedication in helping to provide assistance to the population and, most recently, in facilitating my own visit to that country. We urge the Security Council to maintain the momentum for the peace process by sending immediately United Nations observers to maintain the cease-fire and enable the process of national reconciliation in Somalia to proceed.

To this end, Nigeria, in line with its obligations under the Charter and as a further contribution to the peace process in Somalia, is prepared to host the Somali national reconciliation conference in Abuja, our new capital, under the joint auspices of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the League of Arab States. We hope and expect that all the leaders of the warring factions will attend the conference and reach agreement on the political future of Somalia.

Africa calls on all the parties to the Somali conflict to cease hostilities immediately and observe the jointly negotiated cease-fire. They must do so to promote the process of reconciliation and of political settlement in Somalia.

(Mr. Nwachukwu, Nigeria)

Finally, Africa urges the Security Council to send a clear and definitive message to all the Somali factions by dispatching a military observer mission to monitor the cease-fire and encourage a quick return to democracy in the country.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Nigeria for the kind words addressed to the members of the Security Council.

(The President)

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Kenya, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of African States for the month of March. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. ADALA (Kenya): On behalf of the African Group, I congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March. We assure you of our unfailing support and cooperation as you exercise the functions of this high office. We also thank your predecessor, Ambassador Thomas Pickering of the United States, for the efficient manner in which he guided the deliberations of the Council for the month of February.

The situation in Somalia, which is the agenda item before the Council, has caused great anxiety and concern to many, especially those countries immediately neighbouring Somalia and, indeed, all peoples committed to the process of peaceful and democratic political changes in Africa. Over one million Somalis are adversely affected in one way or another by the current wave of violence. Women, children and the aged are subjected to subhuman conditions in refugee camps, where the basic life-supporting necessities are grossly inadequate or totally lacking.

My attention was recently called to an Africa Watch report on Somalia entitled "A Fight to the Death - Leaving Civilians at the Mercy of Terror and Starvation". I normally do not find much common ground with Africa Watch, but I think a point was made which graphically illustrates the vicious coexistence of war and famine in Somalia. I quote the following paragraph:

"War and famine in Mogadiscio feed on each other in a vicious cycle of deprivation and destruction. The scarcity of food and its high price causes many young men to turn to banditry and looting in order to

(Mr. Adala, Kenya)

survive, and is one motivation for the two armies to fight ... The fighting in turn disrupts commerce, drives people from their homes, and prevents relief supplies from coming in. Hunger and fighting are inextricably intertwined: beneath the fight for political control there is a fight for survival. It follows that a solution to the political conflict cannot succeed without a solution to the food problem."

Given the above scenario, the African Group strongly supports the recommendations in the Secretary-General's report of 11 March 1992: first, to send to Mogadiscio, as soon as possible, a technical team, together with the representatives of the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, to prepare an operational plan for a United Nations monitoring mechanism, in accordance with the agreement on the implementation of the cease-fire signed in Mogadiscio on 3 March 1992 by the leaders of the two factions; secondly, to request the technical team to look into possible mechanisms to ensure the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance to the displaced persons; and, thirdly, that the Security Council underline the individual and collective responsibilities of the leaders of the factions to save lives and to assist in the distribution of humanitarian assistance.

The Security Council, as was stated by the Secretary-General, needs to make absolutely clear to the leaders of the two factions the consequences of obstructing in any way the work of international monitors or the operations of any United Nations observer mission that the Security Council might decide to set up. The lives of millions of Somalis as well as the lives of those who will be mandated by this Council to assist in finding a humane solution cannot be left entirely in the hands of a few warring factions. A resolution coming from this Council must convey that unmistakable message. Nor should this

(Mr. Adala, Kenya)

Council be seen to waver in the exercise of its responsibilities under the Charter. The situation in Somalia calls for the active involvement and strong presence of the United Nations.

Finally, the African Group would like to express its profound thanks to the Secretary-General for his initiative on Somalia; to the Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, Mr. James Jonah, who has undertaken those delicate missions to Somalia; to the Secretaries-General of the three regional Organizations for their collaborative efforts; and to this Council for its untiring search for global peace. To you, Mr. President, we reiterate our thanks for your diplomatic skills, which have enabled the Council to conduct its deliberations with transparency, objectivity and foresight.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Kenya for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. SNOUSSI (Morocco) (interpretation from French): This is the second time in a few months that the Security Council is reacting to the tragic consequences of the civil war that has been ravaging Somalia. Such interest in the Somali situation shows once again the growing concern of the international community and its determination to alleviate the sufferings of that people, which has been scourged by famine, sickness and fear.

In that regard, I should like to extend my warmest congratulations to the Secretary-General for the excellent oral and written reports he has submitted to the Council on this question. My delegation firmly supports the recommendations and measures contemplated to alleviate the sufferings of the Somalian people and to normalize the situation in that country.

(Mr. Snoussi, Morocco)

My congratulations also go to Under-Secretary-General James Jonah and to the team he led in such difficult conditions in Somalia in order to find terms for a peaceful settlement of this conflict and the means to solve the catastrophic humanitarian situation.

My country, as it belongs both to the Arab nation and to Africa, is especially interested in the Somali problem and in the dangers which threaten peace, security and stability in the region. Somalia, which has heretofore been independent, united and sovereign, is now likely to suffer dislocation, not because of racial or religious differences, but primarily because of personal and tribal hatreds between rival factions.

This internecine war, with its terrible toll of victims and destruction, is entailing terrible human suffering of which the international community has become increasingly aware and to which it has been reacting somewhat slowly but, one must say, soundly. Unfortunately, the non-observance by the main belligerents of the commitments to which they have appended their names and their disregard for the provisions of Security Council resolution 733 (1992), have prevented the free transport and distribution of the humanitarian assistance so sorely needed by the Somali people.

Morocco, an Islamic, Arab and African country takes this opportunity to make a fraternal appeal to all the Somali parties, factions and groupings to comply with the cease-fire, to allow United Nations monitoring and to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General with a view to solving this fratricidal conflict peacefully.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank Ambassador Snoussi of Morocco for his kind words addressed to me.

(The President)

The next speaker inscribed on my list is Mr. Aboul Nasr, Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure.

I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. NASR (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me at the outset to express to you, Mr. President, and to the other members of the Security Council my most sincere thanks for allowing me to participate in the debate today with a view to finding a solution for the tragic situation in fraternal Somalia.

Since the inception of the regrettable developments in Somalia, the members of the League of Arab States have tried to contain the crisis. From the beginning of the crisis, the Secretary-General of the League set up contacts with many of the warring factions with a view to stopping the carnage and finding an acceptable peaceful solution. He also sent, on many occasions, a special envoy to the area in order to meet directly with the parties concerned. He also sent the Assistant Secretary-General of the League to the reconciliation conference held in Djibouti.

Since the beginning of the crisis, the Arab League has frequently called on the warring factions to stop the civil war and to seek a solution to the crisis by peaceful means. The League of Arab States has also called on all the specialized agencies and the Arab Funds concerned to give immediate help to the Somali people. Moreover, the Council of the League charged the Commission on Somalia, which was established for that purpose last May, with directing an active Arab effort aimed at solving the crisis.

(Mr. Nasr)

The Commission, after consideration, recommended that there should be an item on the deteriorating situation in Somalia on the agenda of the Council of the Arab League at its regular ninety-sixth session, and resolution 5097 to that effect was issued last September by the Council. After it became clear that there were difficulties in implementing the Djibouti resolution, an extraordinary session was held on 5 January last to consider the deteriorating situation in Somalia, and resolution 5157 was adopted and transmitted to the Security Council as document S/23448.

The League of Arab States appreciates the meritorious efforts of the United Nations and its bodies in this respect. It has also followed, with keen interest and appreciation, the great efforts of the Security Council and of Mr. Boutros-Ghali, and noted the fact that he has on many occasions sent Mr. Jonah to Somalia with a view to establishing the conditions necessary for the cease-fire and for the steps leading to national reconciliation.

The Arab League welcomed the adoption of Security Council resolution 733 (1992) and confirmed its willingness to take part in implementing it. It also welcomed the Secretary-General's initiative of inviting the warring factions in Mogadiscio to New York in February last, and it also took part, with the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), in the meeting that was held at United Nations Headquarters which concluded in an agreement for a cease-fire between the warring factions.

The League of Arab States also participated, with the representative of those organizations, in Mr. Jonah's mission to Mogadiscio, where a new cease-fire agreement was issued. This is the mission that is described in detail in the report of the Secretary-General (S/26693), which is before the Council today.

(Mr. Nasr)

I wish in this respect, and on behalf of the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, to note with appreciation the great efforts made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and by the regional organizations that took part in that mission. I also wish to commend the results and recommendations of that mission. I believe that what took place was a unique and new experience of creative cooperation between the United Nations and the regional organizations, in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations.

There can be no doubt that important steps were taken towards achieving the goals to which we aspire in respect of Somalia. Regrettably, we still have a long road before us; many steps have yet to be taken in order to secure observance of the cease-fire by all the parties concerned and its immediate implementation in Mogadiscio so that there can be an immediate end to the plight of the Somali people.

I have received today a directive from the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States confirming the League's full support for the draft resolution before the Council and the League's willingness, immediately the draft resolution is adopted, to coordinate with the United Nations in order to implement the provisions of the draft resolution; the directive also confirms the League's willingness to measures necessary for success as a result of the draft resolution.

On behalf of the League, I wish to join in sending a clear message calling on all the warring factions in Somalia immediately to observe the agreements so that the humanitarian assistance can be distributed to the refugees and to begin taking effective steps, under United Nations auspices, to find an acceptable solution and put an end to this human tragedy.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank Mr. Aboul Nasr for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is Mr. Ahmet Engin Ansay, Permanent Observer of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to the United Nations, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. ANSAY: First of all, Sir, may I convey to you my warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council during this difficult period. We are indeed confident that your experience and very well known professional skills will serve well in the successful discharge of the complex task currently facing the Security Council, just as they did admirably in the course of the previous week during the consideration by the Council of another formidable issue.

I should also like to take this opportunity to thank another exceptional diplomatist, the Permanent Representive of the United States of America, Ambassador Thomas Pickering, for his virtuoso performance in steering the Council's work during the month of February.

The Organization of the Islamic Conference is deeply concerned over the situation in Somalia and has made efforts to restore peace and promote national reconciliation since the very inception of the crisis. Its Secretary-General, Mr. Hamid Algabid, personally visited certain parts of Somalia and established contact with all Somali political groups.

We contributed to the launching of the peace process signified by the Djibouti round-table conferences of Somali political factions. A meeting of the Somali leaders and representatives was also held in Jeddah last year.

The States members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference have been seized of the situation in Somalia at the ministerial and summit levels

(Mr. Ansay)

and have adopted important resolutions which set forth the principles, parameters and modalities for achieving a comprehensive peaceful settlement of the Somali crisis.

The Sixth Islamic Summit Conference, held in Dakar in December 1991, invited its Chairman, His Excellency Abdou Diouf, President of the Republic of Senegal, to undertake appropriate contacts with the Secretary-General of the United Nations with a view to examining the possibility of sending peace-keeping forces to safeguard peace and order in Somalia. President Abdou Diouf undertook the required consultations and brought the contents of this resolution of the Sixth Islamic Summit to the attention of the United Nations.

It is also a matter of deep satisfaction to the Organization of the Islamic Conference that Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the Secretary-General, acted promptly and sagaciously in bringing the issue of Somalia to the attention of the Security Council.

The Organization of the Islamic Conference welcomed the adoption of Security Council resolution 733 (1992) on Somalia. In an official statement the Secretary-General extended the full support of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to the call of the Security Council to all parties to cease hostilities, which is an essential prerequisite for addressing seriously all other aspects of the problem.

Hopes for peace in Somalia raised by the Djibouti round of consultations were, unfortunately, short lived. Eruption of violence, especially in the Mogadiscio area, has caused death and destruction on a large scale. It is important to identify the main impediments to the implementation of the decisions taken in Djibouti. It is also necessary fully to analyse the root

(Mr. Ansay)

causes of the intra-tribal conflict so as to find a just, durable and equitable solution.

The principles and parameters which should govern the actions of the United Nations and other international and regional organizations to achieve a political solution to the Somali crisis should be clearly enunciated and translated into a comprehensive and coherent policy framework for the joint pursuit of peace in Somalia.

The Organization of the Islamic Conference member States at the highest level have affirmed their commitment to the restoration and preservation of the unity, sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Somalia. In view of the dangers inherent in the present situation in Somalia, it is necessary that the international community as a whole reiterate its commitment to these principles.

As far as the issue of establishing a durable cease-fire agreement is concerned, we are of the view that a comprehensive cease-fire agreement covering all parts of Somalia, and not merely the capital and its adjacent areas, is of vital importance. This would require obtaining the unequivocal commitment of all Somali political groups. In the absence of institutions of State power, which characterizes the current situation in Somalia, it would be futile to expect that any cease-fire arrangement confined to Mogadiscio would hold for the other parts of the country. However, we recognize the urgent need to take steps to stop the fighting in Mogadiscio and would strongly urge the parties concerned to comply with the resolutions of the Security Council and the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

For its part, the Organization of the Islamic Conference is ready to assist in any manner deemed appropriate in arranging a comprehensive and durable cease-fire agreement.

(Mr. Ansay)

In this connection, the Organization of the Islamic Conference is concerting its efforts with those of the United Nations to help the people of Somalia overcome their present hardships and difficulties. In this spirit, the Organization of the Islamic Conference actively participated in the New York talks from 12 to 14 February 1992 and took part in the joint United Nations/Organization of the Islamic Conference/Organization of African Unity/League of Arab States delegation which visited Mogadiscio to consult with the Somali factions on ways and means to conclude a cease-fire agreement and pave the way for a peaceful solution to the problem of Somalia. The successful crowning of that mission was unfortunately shadowed later by the resurgence of fighting. It is therefore important that enforcement, monitoring and observance of the cease-fire agreement be ensured by a peace-keeping force in Somalia.

The search for a just and durable solution to the Somali crisis could best be pursued by initiating a serious intra-Somali dialogue between all Somali political groups, taking into account the complex tribal complexion of the Somali political scene and respecting the Somali traditions. The most important, and perhaps the only, unifying element which transcends the tribal and clannish diversity in Somalia is the Islamic faith of the Somali people. It could provide them with a real and true basis for overcoming their parochial interests and living in brotherhood and harmony with each other.

The Organization of the Islamic Conference believes that consideration must be given to the convening, under the joint sponsorship of the United Nations, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Organization of African Unity and the Arab League of a conference on national reconciliation consisting of all Somali political groups.

(Mr. Ansay)

The Organization of the Islamic Conference deeply appreciates the measures taken by Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the Secretary-General, to mobilize humanitarian assistance for the Somali people. The Organization of the Islamic Conference will be happy to coordinate its efforts with those of the United Nations in the field of humanitarian assistance.

Effective relief work commensurate with the grave magnitude of the problem requires that urgent consideration be given to creating appropriate conditions for the disbursement of humanitarian assistance to all parts of Somalia. It is important that the physical safety of those who are engaged in this noble endeavour be assured. For this purpose, we suggest that serious consideration be given to establishing zones of peace in various parts of Somalia.

In the light of those considerations, the Organization of the Islamic Conference warmly welcomes the excellent report by the Secretary-General which has just come out, and most sincerely commends Under-Secretary-General James Jonah for his brilliant catalytic role and fruitful efforts in the pursuance of a just and durable peace in Somalia.

Our Organization is ready to explore further any other ideas and proposals together with the United Nations and other international and regional organizations so that a well-coordinated and comprehensive approach to resolve the crisis in Somalia may be evolved. By the same token, the Organization of the Islamic Conference fully supports the draft resolution.

In conclusion, I should like once again to thank Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the Secretary-General, for having provided us with this opportunity to concert and coordinate our efforts with those of the United Nations for the cause of peace in Somalia.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank Mr. Ahmet Engin Ansay for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. GHAREKHAN (India): We in India have been watching the deterioration of the situation in Somalia with increasing sadness. The Horn of Africa lies just across the Arabian Sea from the Indian peninsula, along the great sea-trade routes that have linked my country with the east coast of Africa for centuries. To us, therefore, the awful political and humanitarian consequences of this fratricidal conflict stand out with tragic clarity.

The Secretary-General's report on Somalia, following the extraordinarily difficult mission undertaken recently by Under-Secretary-General James Jonah and his team, graphically depicts the complexity of the situation. The fighting in Mogadiscio between two factions of the same Somali movement is compounded many-fold by hostility between political factions and movements in other parts of Somalia, fractures and struggles within these movements themselves, secessionist movements in the north and uncontrolled armed elements on the rampage everywhere. The Secretary-General has drawn our attention to the absence of any civil society and to the breakdown of law and order in Mogadiscio and elsewhere, which is further exacerbated by the proliferation and easy availability of arms and ammunition among the population.

There is no single political authority today in Somalia with which the world community can interact and to which it can turn for a resolution of this problem. The people of Somalia, innocent men, women and children caught in a horrendous web of internecine warfare, cry out for help. The sheer magnitude of the problem and its continuation constitute a threat to the peace and security of the region, as mentioned in the draft resolution before us.

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

The Somali situation is thus sui generis and, as the Secretary-General points out, has eluded conventional solutions. The principles drawn from the United Nations Charter, which the Security Council must always build upon in its consideration of the issues before it, have nevertheless to be applied in this case also. But as the Secretary-General himself concludes, new avenues and innovative methods commensurate with the humanitarian and political situation at hand need to be explored to facilitate a peaceful settlement. In this, the collaborative role being played by the regional organizations along with the United Nations, in the context of Chapter VIII of the Charter, assumes importance.

The Secretary-General has proposed to send a technical team to work out, in consultation with the two main protagonists in Mogadiscio, an operational plan for a United Nations monitoring mechanism for the stabilization of a cease-fire in the city. Such a monitoring mechanism has been agreed to by the two main protagonists as a result of the efforts of the recent joint mission led by Mr. James Jonah. Unfortunately, they have yet to abide by the cease-fire agreement signed by them at the same time. The question of uncontrolled armed elements remains to be dealt with. Without an effective cease-fire on the ground it will be extremely difficult for any United Nations monitoring mission to carry out its task, and the primary aspect of the technical team's work would be to impress upon the combatants the need to stop the fighting and observe the agreed cease-fire.

The Secretary-General has proposed an additional aspect to the technical team's mandate, which is to look into possible mechanisms to ensure the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance. Indeed, this has come not a

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

moment too soon. The terrible humanitarian situation that has resulted from the conflict, and the lack of food, have only aggravated the reckless warfare, which in turn has rendered substantial international humanitarian efforts impossible.

The situation is of crisis proportions, with five times as many casualties as have taken place in Yugoslavia and with the displacement of hundreds of thousands of innocent people in and around conflict areas in all parts of the country. Some international organizations and non-governmental organizations have worked heroically to provide relief, but the absence of a cease-fire and the lack of cooperation by the warring groups have thwarted effective operations and have even resulted in unfortunate casualties among relief workers.

The conflict in Somalia can ultimately be resolved only through political dialogue within the conference of national reconciliation and unity which will form the second phase of the United Nations action. In this first phase, however, the urgencies are well defined, and the responsibility lies, individually and collectively, with the leaders of the various Somali factions themselves. The United Nations has stepped forward to help them, and they must offer it every possible support.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the representative of Italy. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. TRAXLER (Italy): I am speaking today because on this occasion Italy would like to express its full support for the draft resolution to be adopted by the Security Council and for the measures therein aimed at

(Mr. Traxler, Italy)

promoting the achievement of a peaceful solution to the tragic conflict troubling Somalia, a country which, as members know, is very close to mine in view of our long-standing ties of friendship and cooperation.

Indeed, it is these very ties of friendship that encourage me, with the Council's permission, to express my country's sincere appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his initiative in seeking a peaceful solution to the Somali crisis, as well as to Under-Secretary-General James Jonah for his untiring efforts towards that same end.

While hailing with satisfaction the forthcoming dispatch of a United Nations technical team to Somalia, Italy expresses the wish that this peace initiative may be complemented - as in fact is provided for in the draft resolution - by appropriate cooperative efforts on the part of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference towards the convening of a conference of national reconciliation and unity which would bring together all parties, movements and factions now present in Mogadiscio and in the whole Somali territory.

Needless to say, Italy stands ready to contribute in every possible manner to the success of that conference. Furthermore, Italy hopes that the initiatives provided for by today's draft resolution may establish the necessary conditions for the orderly and safe distribution of humanitarian aid to the Somali population, which has been so grievously affected by the tragic developments.

(Mr. Traxler, Italy)

My country stands ready to contribute to the international aid programmes set up by specialized organizations. In this connection I wish to announce that a mission of Italian officials is already in touch with the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva to work out a possible Italian contribution to the humanitarian effort in Somalia already planned by that Committee in cooperation with the United Nations and several non-governmental organizations.

In conclusion, I should like to express to you, Sir, my country's sincere good wishes and congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council, together with our sincere appreciation for the work of your predecessor, Ambassador Thomas Pickering.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Italy for his kind words addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. JESUS (Cape Verde): We have been very much touched by the tragedy in Somalia. Torn by a horrible internal war that has caused much pain and suffering to its people and brought about destruction and death, that sisterly African country has come to the brink of chaos and disarray.

Last January the Council, faced with this horrible situation, attempted to come to the assistance of the Somali people, and adopted resolution 733 (1992) which called for the cessation of hostilities and the conclusion of a cease-fire agreement, and requested the Secretary-General to assist in the political normalization of Somalia and to mobilize the humanitarian assistance to that country. My country willingly and actively joined this decision of the Council because we believed it to be a timely and necessary measure to come to the rescue of the Somali people.

The efforts made so far by the Secretary-General in carrying out the mandate conferred upon him under resolution 733 (1992) are commendable and, certainly, we strongly urge him to pursue these efforts with a view to helping bring stability and normalcy of life to Somalia.

We particularly value the Secretary-General's assistance in brokering cease-fire agreements between the two factions. We regret to note, however,

(Mr. Jesus, Cape Verde)

that, as mentioned in the Secretary-General's report, the parties have not abided by these agreements.

We urge - we demand - the parties concerned to respect the cease-fire agreements in order to bring the carnage of the Somali people to a halt and create the necessary conditions for a political settlement of the conflict.

The international community cannot and should not wait anymore to stop one of the most destructive internal wars of modern times, which has plunged the country into chaos. No faction, party or movement, however well-intentioned their policies might be or however lofty the goals they purport to pursue, should have the right to impose, let alone to prolong, such sacrifice on their people.

For the sake of their country, for the love of their people and for humanitarian considerations, we appeal to all those involved in the conflict to cease their hostilities promptly and to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General in his peace-making efforts.

We are glad to note that the Secretary-General has decided to send to Somalia, as soon as possible, a technical team to prepare an operational plan for a United Nations monitoring mechanism. We believe this is an important step towards stabilizing the cease-fire and facilitating a negotiated solution to the conflict.

We hope that the Council, when the time comes, will rise to its responsibilities and adopt any measure that, in accordance with past practices in similar situations, might prove to be necessary to bring stability and to restore peace and tranquility to Somalia.

We take this opportunity to praise the role played by the international humanitarian organizations, particularly the International Committee of the Red Cross, for their dedicated and courageous efforts to provide humanitarian

(Mr. Jesus, Cape Verde)

assistance to the affected Somali population. The risks they have been taking make their humanitarian assistance all the more commendable and highly appreciated.

We have taken note of the efforts made by the United Nations system in providing humanitarian assistance and relief. We urge the Secretary-General to pursue these efforts and, in this context, we emphasize the importance of the coordinator, whose appointment the Council requested in its resolution 733 (1992).

The draft resolution before us is another step to be taken shortly by the Council in its efforts to assist in the normalization of the situation in Somalia. It is to be expected that a technical team will soon be able successfully to discharge its mandate to allow the Council to proceed promptly with further measures to stabilize the cease-fire as envisaged in the Secretary-General's report.

We hope the Council will continue to monitor closely the situation in Somalia and will take all appropriate and prompt measures to assist that country to gain back its lost tranquility and stability.

Finally, we appreciate the work done by Mr. James Jonah and his team, and their courageous commitment to carry out their missions in a difficult and risky situation in Somalia.

Mr. NOTERDAEME (Belgium) (interpretation from French): All the information emanating from Somalia coincides on one point: the humanitarian situation there is a tragic one. The number of dead, injured and displaced persons continues to increase, and famine is taking a firm hold. Moreover, the extremely complex political and military situation is impeding - indeed it is making impossible - the provision of the assistance that the Somali people so sorely needs.

(Mr. Noterdaeme, Belgium)

We should therefore like to pay a tribute to all the members of international, regional and non-governmental organizations, who, often at a risk to their lives, continue to lend assistance to the people of Somalia.

My delegation should also like to thank the Secretary-General for his report and, above all, for the efforts made through his representative, Mr. James Jonah, which resulted in the signing of cease-fire agreements by Ali Mahid Mohamed and Farah Aidid on 3 March.

These agreements provide for the establishment of a United Nations monitoring mechanism with a view to establishing a durable cease-fire that would also apply to uncontrolled armed elements. However, the establishment of such a mechanism implies that the parties to the agreement will take certain measures that are set forth in paragraph 40 of the Secretary-General's report.

It is primarily to see to it that these provisions have effectively been implemented that the dispatch of a technical team, proposed by the Secretary-General, is particularly useful. This mission should, among other things, determine whether the security conditions in Somalia are sufficient to make it possible to dispatch a team to verify the cease-fire.

The second objective of the technical team is to study the ways and means of ensuring the unhindered distribution of humanitarian assistance to displaced persons in Mogadiscio. In view of the distress of the Somali people, my delegation has no difficulty in endorsing what the Secretary-General has personally called "innovations".

(Mr. Noterdaeme, Belgium)

I should nevertheless like to point out that in the eventual implementation of a United Nations operation in Somalia a clear distinction should be drawn between the political and military aspects and the humanitarian aspect, especially because of their specific budgetary implications.

In conclusion, I would emphasize the importance my delegation attaches to the role which is being played - and should continue to be played - by the Organization of African Unity, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the League of Arab States. My delegation cannot but approve of paragraph 9 of the draft resolution, in which the Secretary-General is called upon to cooperate closely with the regional organizations with a view to convening a conference for national reconciliation and unity in Somalia. Furthermore, Belgium welcomes the Secretary-General's intention to involve those organizations in an eventual United Nations monitoring mechanism in Somalia.

Mr. HOHENFELLNER (Austria): For quite some time, the deteriorating situation in Somalia has been of great concern to my country. The ongoing violence and its negative impact on the grave situation of the civilian population constitute a serious threat to peace and security in the Horn of Africa, a region already gravely afflicted by starvation, civil wars and massive flows of refugees. Austria therefore welcomed the initiative taken by the Secretary-General in December 1991 in bringing this issue before the Security Council.

Austria also strongly supported the adoption of Security Council resolution 733 (1992), which gave a dual mandate to the Secretary-General: on the one hand to take the necessary actions to increase humanitarian assistance to the affected population, and on the other hand to seek the commitment of all parties involved in the conflict to the cessation of hostilities, in order

(Mr. Hohenfellner, Austria)

to permit the humanitarian assistance to be distributed. The Security Council thereby recognized the close link between a durable cessation of hostilities and the establishment of viable mechanisms for the distribution of humanitarian assistance.

We welcome the fact that, as a first step towards fulfilling the mandate given by resolution 733 (1992), the joint mission of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference was able on 3 March to achieve the signing in Mogadiscio of cease-fire agreements by the two major factions. The regrettable fact, however, that the cease-fire has not yet been fully respected, thereby still preventing the distribution of humanitarian assistance to the population, clearly indicates that further efforts are necessary. We therefore support the proposal by the Secretary-General urgently to dispatch a technical team to Mogadiscio and other parts of Somalia to discuss arrangements to stabilize the cease-fire agreements as well as to look into possible mechanisms to ensure the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance.

We are convinced that the draft resolution before us, endorsing these proposals by the Secretary-General, will gain the unanimous support of the members of the Security Council. Thereby the Council will send the strongest possible signal to all parties, movements and factions in Somalia to respect the Security Council's demand for full cooperation with the Secretary-General and for full respect for the safety and security of the technical team and humanitarian personnel in all parts of Somalia.

Mr. LI Daoyu (China) (interpretation from Chinese): The long-drawn-out conflict and war in Somalia have brought enormous losses of property and life to the Somali people. The Chinese delegation shares the deep concern expressed by other delegations over this situation.

We are pleased to note that thanks to the mediation of the United Nations and the relevant regional organizations, the Interim President of Somalia and the Chairman of the United Somali Congress signed respectively on 3 March this year the agreement on the implementation of the cease-fire and agreed to take immediate steps for the implementation of measures aimed at stabilizing the cease-fire by means of a United Nations monitoring mechanism. This, in our view, is a good starting-point and a favourable opportunity for achieving a peaceful solution to the internal disputes of Somalia. We sincerely hope that the relevant Somali parties involved in the conflict will seize this opportunity to implement the cease-fire agreements in earnest and strive for the early restoration of peace and stability in Somalia. We should also like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation and thanks to the Secretary-General and his special representative Mr. James Jonah, and to the League of Arab States, the Organization of African Unity and the Organization of the Islamic Conference for their tireless efforts to ensure the peaceful settlement of the Somali question.

The Chinese delegation appreciates the Secretary-General's report on the Somali question and supports the adoption by the Security Council of a resolution on this issue. At the same time, we believe that the Somali question should be peacefully settled mainly by the Somali people themselves through consultations and dialogues. Only at the request and with the support and cooperation of the Somali people can any external endeavours, including

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

the United Nations monitoring mechanism and humanitarian relief, be genuinely effective. It is our hope and belief that United Nations activities in Somalia will be conducted in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, with full respect for Somalia's independence and sovereignty, so as to make due contributions to the early restoration of a just and lasting peace in Somalia. In this regard, we believe that any further peace-keeping operations to be carried out by the United Nations in Somalia must be reported in advance to the Security Council and approved by it.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): The very grave situation in Somalia resulting from the violent fighting affecting most parts of that country is a source of profound concern to the French Government. In addition to the large loss of human life, this fighting is causing massive displacements of populations as well as an extremely serious deterioration of the humanitarian situation, particularly with regard to food. It also endangers the already fragile peace and stability of the entire region.

The Security Council, by adopting its resolution 733 (1992) on 23 January last, expressed its determination to contribute to efforts to bring about an end to the hostilities, to facilitate the channelling of assistance to the affected populations and to promote a political settlement of the conflict. Since that time, the Secretary-General has endeavoured, on a priority basis, in the framework of the mission conferred upon him by our Council, to induce the parties in conflict in Mogadiscio to put an end to the confrontations. My delegation wishes to express its complete support for the Secretary-General's action as well as for the efforts made by Under-Secretary-General James Jonah.

We deplore the fact that the cease-fire to which the parties have committed themselves is not yet respected, and we call upon the parties to put

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

an end to the fighting without delay. We call upon them also to do all in their power to promote the provision of assistance so badly needed by the populations, inter alia by ensuring the safety of the personnel of humanitarian organizations.

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

In that spirit, my delegation supports the initiatives envisaged in the Secretary-General's report, and especially the plan to send to Mogadiscio a United Nations technical team. My delegation expresses the hope that these initiatives will receive the cooperation of the parties, which is indispensable if they are to succeed. It is also essential that all States, in accordance with the appeal made to them by our Council, refrain from any act likely to increase the tension.

In conclusion, my delegation hopes that the Security Council will unanimously adopt the draft resolution before it, thus demonstrating its determination to contribute to putting an end to the tragedy afflicting Somalia and so heavily weighing upon the peoples of that country.

Mr. MUMBENGEGWI (Zimbabwe): My delegation wishes to commend and congratulate the Secretary-General for launching - in close cooperation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference - the peace effort in Somalia that resulted in the 14 February New York commitment by two of the warring parties to cease hostilities, and the subsequent signing of the cease-fire agreements on 3 March 1992 in Mogadiscio.

The report of the Secretary-General before us today (S/23693 and Corr.1) notes that the complexity of the tragic situation in Somalia required this concerted effort from the United Nations and the three regional Organizations. In this regard, my delegation welcomes the participation of His Excellency General Nwachukwu, the Chairman of the OAU Council of Ministers, in our deliberations. We thank him for his excellent address.

The Security Council has of late been seized of fratricidal conflicts that have caused so much destruction and massive loss of life and have threatened the peace and stability of regions. Effective and appropriate

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

measures have already been taken by the Council to stabilize the cease-fires in two areas - Yugoslavia and Cambodia. The tragedy of Somalia has for almost a year been unravelling before our very eyes. My delegation believes that the Somalia conflicts are of an extremely grave nature and should be addressed with utmost urgency. That is why we welcome the recommendation of the Secretary-General to dispatch to Somalia, as soon as possible, a technical team that will prepare a plan for a United Nations monitoring mechanism. It is my delegation's expectation that the dispatch of this technical team will not be delayed by the reference to a coordinator for humanitarian efforts in operative paragraph 6 of the draft resolution before us.

I must place on record our indignation at some of the parties in Somalia, which seem not to take seriously their commitment to the recently signed cease-fire agreements. They should be warned that the international community will not accept a situation in which innocent people continue to lose their lives in circumstances where differences can easily be resolved through peaceful means.

We therefore call upon all the parties in Somalia to cease all hostilities; to cooperate fully with the technical team in its mandate to prepare an operational plan for a United Nations monitoring mechanism; and to cooperate fully with the technical team in putting in place mechanisms for unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance to all persons in need throughout Somalia.

We are confident that the Secretary-General will vigorously pursue his humanitarian efforts in Somalia by harnessing all the resources at his disposal, including those of the relevant United Nations agencies, to address urgently the critical and tragic situation of the population in Somalia.

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

We look forward to the Secretary-General's report and to the expeditious approval and implementation of his recommendations so as to stabilize the situation in Somalia.

Mr. WATSON (United States of America): The human suffering in Somalia over the past several months has been a tragedy of heartbreaking magnitude. Innocent Somalis, including thousands of women and children, have faced starvation, disease and death as a result of the brutal struggles for control over territory that have racked this unfortunate country. The United States Government sees a cease-fire, the establishment of a process of national reconciliation and the provision of humanitarian assistance and relief to these unfortunate victims as the primary goals of the international community in Somalia.

Not only must the alleviation of human suffering be intensified as soon as possible, but it is also clear that a cease-fire is unlikely to be effective without the provision of humanitarian relief. One will not work without the other. A more concerted, well-articulated and tightly coordinated humanitarian assistance effort is urgently needed now.

To these ends, it is important to work towards a cessation of all hostilities and a political settlement. Unfortunately, while two of the warring factions in the capital of Mogadiscio have signed cease-fire agreements with representatives of the United Nations and three regional organizations, the cease-fire does not appear to be holding. This cease-fire must be strictly and effectively adhered to in good faith before the Security Council can send in United Nations monitors. Prior experience in peace-keeping operations throughout the world has shown us that the United

(Mr. Watson, United States)

Nations cannot perform effectively in a situation where the parties to the conflict are unwilling to create the conditions necessary to enable it to do so. No United Nations monitoring mechanism to supervise a cease-fire can be put into a situation where there is no effective cease-fire. The United Nations cannot deliver humanitarian assistance where an active conflict is under way. For all these reasons, we call upon all parties to cease hostilities immediately.

When an effective cease-fire is achieved, all parties to the conflict must be willing to accept international supervision of it in order for United Nations monitors to operate with a modicum of safety. Without such agreements firmly in place, we would be placing the monitors in an excessively dangerous situation. Upon the return of the technical team from Somalia, and the Secretary-General's next report to the Council, we shall have to consider seriously whether these conditions can be met.

Under your leadership, Mr. President, the Council today is acting expeditiously so that the United Nations, in cooperation with other international organizations, can provide intensified assistance to the Somalis as they seek to overcome their horrendous, multifaceted crisis. We wish them well and look forward to receiving and acting upon the Secretary-General's next report as soon as possible.

Mr. AYALA LASSO (Ecuador) (interpretation from Spanish): Almost two months exactly after adopting its resolution 733 (1992), the Security Council is once again going to express its determination to respond effectively to the challenges that the situation in Somalia poses for the international community.

The report the Secretary-General submitted to us on 11 March and the oral information which recently supplemented it demonstrate the gravity and the tragedy of the crisis in Somalia. We wish to express our appreciation and our support for the Secretary-General and Mr. James Jonah in everything they have done in fulfilling the mandate given them in resolution 733 (1992).

All countries the world over - especially those in the developing world and, obviously, most especially those in Africa - have followed the work of the Security Council with interest and attention. There is no doubt that the voice of Africa has been a powerful stimulus to the Security Council, which has reacted by producing the draft resolution we are now preparing to adopt.

Thus, one more new, important and positive step has been taken along the road which the Council set out in January thanks, in large measure, to the outstanding, universal citizen of Africa who is now our Secretary-General; this is a road which we all hope will end in the establishment of peace and national reconciliation in Somalia and in a fitting solution to the humanitarian problems that are among the components of this crisis. The Ambassador of Kenya eloquently reminded us of this in saying that war and hunger are feeding off each other in the crisis in Somalia.

We are sure that the technical team our Secretary-General will soon send to Somalia and the coordinator for humanitarian assistance will fulfil their

(Mr. Ayala Lasso, Ecuador)

mandates effectively in monitoring the cease-fire operations and the distribution of humanitarian assistance. For this to be achieved, the parties and factions in Somalia will have to live up to their commitments and cooperate fully with the United Nations team.

It is for the Somali people and their leaders to fulfil their fundamental responsibility of seeking, through dialogue and peaceful negotiation, an appropriate and lasting solution to this crisis. For this, and in order to make possible effective United Nations participation, there is also a need for all the factions and movements in Somalia to will it to be so.

We consider it extremely important to highlight and promote the assistance which the regional organizations, such as the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, can and have been offering and providing in order to contribute to solving the problem of Somalia.

I wish to express to the noble Somali people Ecuador's total solidarity in these difficult and tragic moments in its history, along with our conviction that, through its own action and resolve, this fraternal people will be able to recover a normal life of peace and democracy in which they can work effectively to ensure its progress.

Ecuador is sure that the Security Council will be capable of doing its duty in cooperating in that noble endeavour.

Mr. LOZINSKY (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): The Russian Federation supports the efforts designed to put an immediate end to armed conflict in Somalia and to achieve national reconciliation and agreement in that country as quickly as possible.

(Mr. Lozinsky, Russian Federation)

We rate the activities being carried out by the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros-Ghali, and by the Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, Mr. James Jonah, very highly. The Russian Federation supports the draft resolution we prepared during our consultations, given the critical nature of the developing situation in Somalia and the loss of life and the suffering caused by the conflict, which harbours a threat to international peace and security.

We support the draft resolution's urgent appeal to the Somali parties to fulfil their obligations under the cease-fire agreement of 3 March, cooperate with the Secretary-General and ensure that humanitarian assistance by the United Nations, its specialized agencies and other humanitarian organizations is provided to all who need it.

We also support the Secretary-General's rapid dispatching to Somalia of the technical team which will carry out the mission set out for it under paragraphs 73 and 74 of his report (S/23693 and Corr.1). It is important for there to be a total cease-fire and a complete cessation of military activities as quickly as possible, and for all possible steps to be taken to ensure the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance to the country.

Furthermore, we associate ourselves with the views expressed here concerning the need to draw a clear distinction between United Nations expenditures on peace-keeping and the parallel expenses incurred in providing technical, humanitarian and other assistance, which should be funded either through voluntary contributions or through the active and coordinated involvement of the United Nations specialized agencies and other organizations in the United Nations system.

(Mr. Lozinsky, Russian Federation)

We should especially like to emphasize the importance of close cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, particularly in consulting all the Somali parties, movements and factions with a view to convening a conference on national reconciliation and unity in Somalia.

By actively and unanimously responding to the Secretary-General's report on the situation in Somalia, the Security Council has once again demonstrated the great peace-making potential of the United Nations.

Mr. BUDAI (Hungary): First of all, I should like to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General for his report on the situation in Somalia, which has provided an excellent basis for the Security Council to consider the issue before us.

The Republic of Hungary is deeply concerned by the continuous deterioration of the situation in Somalia and by the magnitude of the human suffering brought about by the conflict. The continuation of this tragic and alarming situation constitutes a threat to international peace and security and, consequently, it demands effective action on behalf of the Council. We are fully aware of the complexity and the extraordinary nature of this crisis, which indeed requires new and innovative approaches by the international community.

At this juncture, we are particularly encouraged by the efforts of the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference towards achieving a peaceful settlement. We also

(Mr. Budai, Hungary)

concur with the Secretary-General's observation in his report that the collaborative efforts of the United Nations and the regional and intergovernmental organizations undertaken in the context of Chapter VIII of the Charter have set a useful precedent for future cooperation.

(Mr. Budai, Hungary)

In our view it is essential, for any progress to be made towards the solution of the crisis, that the signatories of the cease-fire agreements of 3 March 1992 honour their commitments fully and unconditionally. It is equally important that all Somali parties, movements and factions facilitate the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance to all those in need and cooperate with the United Nations, its specialized agencies and other humanitarian organizations for this purpose. In our opinion, efforts to solve the political and humanitarian aspects of the crisis should be made simultaneously.

For these reasons, we welcome the idea of dispatching a technical team to Somalia, to be accompanied by the coordinator of humanitarian assistance in order to work within the framework and objectives outlined in paragraphs 73 and 74 of the Secretary-General's report. In our view it is of paramount importance that all parties concerned respect fully the security and safety of this team and the personnel of the humanitarian organizations and guarantee their complete freedom of movement in the country.

On the basis of those considerations the Hungarian delegation strongly supports the adoption of the draft resolution contained in document S/23722.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): I shall be very brief, because I have little to add to the remarks made by others in the Council. We too have been shocked and horrified by the way in which events have gone in Somalia and by the terrible suffering of its people.

There is one point I should like to make on the cease-fire. We were very admiring of the efforts of Under-Secretary-General Jonah when he managed to broker a cease-fire in extremely difficult circumstances a few weeks ago. But the fact that that cease-fire has not held has demonstrated something which

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

the Council is now all too familiar with - namely, that the will of the parties to a cease-fire to honour it is absolutely fundamental to any effective return to more tranquil and peaceful conditions, and that remains the case in Somalia. It is all summed up in the little phrase, "You can't have peace-keeping if you haven't got a peace to keep". I hope very much that this renewed effort by a technical mission will lead to there being a peace to keep.

The second point I should like to make relates to the very welcome intention of the Secretary-General and his officials to devote their humanitarian efforts to the whole of Somalia and not just the area around Mogadiscio. The area around Mogadiscio has of course caught all the headlines, and there is no doubt at all that the suffering and damage there are greater than anywhere else, but it is not the only part of the country where there are real problems. The north, too, where there has been less open civil strife, but where there have been every bit as many humanitarian problems, will benefit greatly if the United Nations and its agencies are able to resume their operations in an effective way.

Thirdly, and finally, I hope the technical team will be able to begin to nudge people forward towards a process of reconciliation, because otherwise the risk is that the United Nations and Somalia will remain stuck halfway between peace and war, and that is a situation which benefits nobody. So I hope that we shall also hear from the Secretary-General in his next report whether there are any signs of hope that a process of reconciliation on a long-term basis can now be set under way.

Mr. HATANO (Japan): If Sir David had little to add, I have still less to add.

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

The Government and the people of Japan are seriously concerned about the tragic situation in Somalia. A large number of human lives have already been sacrificed, and to cease hostilities and to restore peace and stability in that country must be a priority concern not only of the people of Somalia but of the entire international community.

The situation in Somalia is indeed complex, and new and innovative methods may have to be explored to cope with the political and humanitarian difficulties. In this connection, my delegation wishes to express sincere appreciation of the efforts made so far by the Secretary-General and his representative, Mr. James Jonah, and especially the production of the excellent report on the recent situation in Somalia.

My delegation supports the draft resolution before the Council, especially the important decision to dispatch a technical team to Somalia. We sincerely hope that the team will be accorded full cooperation by all parties in that country and that the draft resolution will contribute to ensuring a cease-fire, as already agreed upon on 3 March, and to ensuring that there will be no impediment to the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the displaced persons.

We eagerly await the Secretary-General's next report.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Venezuela.

Somalia was for many years an active part of the theatre of confrontation of the cold war, and then, paradoxically, it fell victim to the end of that war, which has left as a sad and distressing legacy a dangerously impoverished people, dangerously over-armed and also dangerously undernourished.

As representative of Venezuela, I congratulate the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, on the expeditious way in which he has implemented

(The President)

resolution 733 (1992) of 23 January. The consultations held in New York between the parties to the conflict and the sending to Somalia of the special envoy, Under-Secretary-General James Jonah, have at last made it possible to establish a certain cease-fire. The cooperation and assistance of the regional organizations, such as the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, have undoubtedly contributed to alleviating tension and facilitating dialogue.

Both those developments are a significant example of the work that the United Nations must do at this new stage in international relations and the irreplaceable support that can be provided by those regional organizations. Thanks to them we are now at a new stage in this painful African situation.

The draft resolution before the Council today underscores the two aspects of Somalia's immediate problems. The first is reflected in paragraph 6 of the draft resolution, which is aimed at continuing to explore the possibilities of consolidating the cease-fire and ensuring the effectiveness of the humanitarian aid and assistance urgently required by the Somali population. The second is reflected in paragraph 9, which is aimed at recognizing that the tragedy of Somalia will be resolved in a stable and definitive way only in so far as the Somali nation recognizes the need for its own reconciliation, putting an end to a terrible war that it is waging with itself.

On behalf of Venezuela, I should like to make a few comments on that latter aspect of the Council's mandate. Somalia is at present a devastated country in economic, social and institutional terms. Twenty years of civil war have left deep marks on Somali society.

(The President)

Without a political settlement, the country will be unable to resolve its civil and humanitarian problems. The challenge for the international community is to reverse this process of alienation and the fratricidal division of the Somali nation. Despite its recent painful history, that nation has invaluable strengths, particularly those stemming from its cultural, ethnic and religious unity.

In our view it is indispensable that to promote those purposes the Secretary-General should turn to a personality of a very high level, widely recognized internationally. That person could work with vision towards achieving the delicate political task of national reconciliation as the technical team carries out its work in respect of the cease-fire and humanitarian assistance. Those efforts would be complementary and would give the parties confidence in a future not limited to the presence of United Nations monitoring mechanisms.

As the Secretary-General observed in his report, the substantive problem that Somalia must face is the absence of a civil society. The international community as a whole, and the Security Council in particular, can, should and must respond effectively with assistance and advice in this extraordinary African tragedy to which the international community too long remained dangerously indifferent.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

I now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/23722, as orally revised in its provisional form.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Austria, Belgium, Cape Verde, China, Ecuador, France, Hungary, India, Japan, Morocco, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela, Zimbabwe

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution, as orally revised in its provisional form, has been adopted unanimously as resolution 746 (1992).

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 8.05 p.m.